

STATEMENT OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT REGARDING
JAPAN'S NON-PARTICIPATION IN THE CONFERENCE
OF THE NINE POWER TREATY SIGNATORIES.

October 27, 1937.

The Japanese Government, having replied to the invitation of the Belgian Government to the Conference of the Signatories of the Nine Power Treaty of 1922, take this opportunity of making public at home and abroad a statement of their views.

1. China has witnessed the rise and fall of countless regimes since the Revolution of 1912, but her foreign policy has been consistently one of anti-foreignism. Especially since 1924, when the Kuomintang set up the Nationalist Government in Canton and entered into alliance with the Communists as a means of winning control of the central administration, the anti-foreign policy began to be pursued with unprecedented vigor and ruthlessness, and anti-foreign sentiments were kindled ablaze among the populace. The memory is still fresh of the way in which foreign Powers, one after another, were victimized and deprived of their vested rights and interests. It happens that Japan has been made for the past ten years the principal target of this anti-foreign policy of China.

Japan has always striven to promote friendship and cooperation among the nations of East Asia, in the firm conviction that therein lies the key to the stability of that region. Japan welcomed the deepening of Chinese national consciousness which followed upon the Revolution, believing that it would conduce to intimate Sino-Japanese collaboration, and she adopted the policy of meeting the legitimate national aspirations of China to the utmost possible extra-territoriality. Japan, thus cultivating China's good-will, looked patiently and eagerly forward to a favourable response that would

consort with her ideal of friendship and cooperation.

However, China showed no signs of appreciation of this sympathetic attitude on the part of Japan. On the contrary, she hoisted still higher the estimate upon their country's fighting power. A belligerent spirit towards Japan came to prevail throughout the land. Long before the present outbreak, Chinese newspapers and magazines were accustomed to call Japan the "Enemy country" and Japanese their enemies. At the time of the Lukouchi Incident the Nanking Government, being driven to action against Japan by the internal situation they themselves had created, Japan's cautious attitude and her policy of local settlement were both deemed to utter failure.

With the aggravation of the situation all Japanese residents, not only in North China but also in Central and South China became exposed to imminent danger, and were compelled to evacuate en masse, abandoning the enterprises that they had toilsofely built up during long years in the past. At the same time the Chinese in Shanghai, in contravention of the 1932 Truce Agreement, secretly set out to construct military works in the demilitarized zone and to perfect their war preparations. Accordingly in June last the Japanese Government made a request for a special conference of the Powers concerned, and called the attention of the Chinese Government to the matter. The Chinese refused to alter their attitude, but upon the outbreak of the armed conflict in North China, they moved troops into the prohibited zone in flagrant violation of the Truce Agreement, and finally following upon the murder of an officer and a man belonging to the Japanese Landing Party on August 9, they launched an attack upon the International Settlement. While the Japanese authorities were still engaged in negotiations with the representatives of the Powers concerned, in a desperate attempt to

prevent hostilities with extreme patience and forbearance and bearing serious strategical disadvantages, the Chinese began to shell and bomb the Japanese quarter of the Settlement as well as the Japanese garrison defending it, with a view to annihilating the 30,000 Japanese residents as well as the Japanese forces who were hopelessly outnumbered by the Chinese armies. Thereupon Japan was compelled to take counter-measures in self-defence.

As is clear from the foregoing account, the fundamental cause of the aggravation of the present affair is to be found in the policy of the Nanking Government who moved large, threatening forces into North China in contravention of the Ho-Umezu Agreement and also tore up the Truce Agreement by marching troops on the International Settlement. Japan was compelled to take up arms in self-defence, and she has chosen this opportunity to make the Nanking Government revise their attitude for the sake of the permanent peace of East Asia. Therefore, the present affair can never be settled until the Nanking Government mend their ways, abandon once and for all their anti-Japanese policy and accept Japan's policy of cooperation and collaboration between the two countries.

3. It should be remembered that one of the important factors underlying Nanking's feverish agitations of more recent years against Japan is the action taken by the League of Nations at the time of the Manchurian Incident. That body then adopted a resolution framed in utter disregard of the realities of the situation in East Asia, which strongly stimulated China in her anti-Japanese policy. Now the League has once more taken up the appeal of the Nanking Government. Without going fully into the real causes of the present affair, it has concluded on the basis of false

reports that the bombing of the military works in strongly fortified Nanking and Canton was an attack upon defenseless cities, and adopted the resolution of September 27 condemning Japan. Again on October 6 the Assembly of the League not only concluded that Japan's action constituted a violation of the Anti-War Pact and the Nine Power Treaty but also adopted a resolution which openly called for assistance to China. Such proceedings on the part of the League only fall in with the cunning scheme of the Nanking Government to exert pressure upon Japan by inviting the intervention of third Powers, and serve no useful end but to encourage China in her resolve to oppose Japan to the last and to render a settlement of the affair more difficult than ever. It must be said that the League of Nations is repeating the error that it committed but a few years ago.

Japan's action is a measure of self-defense taken in the face of Chinese challenge, and obviously there can be no question of violation of the Nine Power Treaty. Moreover, as compared with the time when that treaty was concluded, the situation of East Asia to-day has been rendered totally different, owing to the infiltration of Communist influence and the changes of internal conditions prevailing in China. In any case, as regards the conference that has been convened of the signatories to the Nine-Power Treaty, it is a foregone conclusion that a majority of the participants will hold themselves bound by the above-mentioned resolutions of the League of Nations, and even if Japan took part in its deliberations, no fair and just results could ever be expected therefrom as in the case of the League meeting at the time of the Manchurian Incident. Especially as this Conference is to be attended by Powers which are not directly interested in East Asia, it is calculated to arouse popular feeling both in Japan

and China, thereby complicating the situation still further but contributing nothing toward a solution. The Japanese Government have, therefore, decided to decline the invitation.

The Japanese nation, rising as one man, is united in the determination to surmount all obstacles for the purpose of effecting a speedy settlement. Japan is by no means indifferent towards international cooperation. But the Sino-Japanese difficulties can be solved only through direct negotiations between the two Powers on whom falls the common burden of responsibility for the stability of East Asia. What is needed is the elimination of Nanking's anti-Japanese policy and the Communist elements which are identified with it, so that there may be established an enduring peace based upon Sino-Japanese unity and cooperation. Japan never looks upon the Chinese people as an enemy, nor does she harbour any territorial designs. It is rather her sincere wish to witness the material and spiritual advancement of the Chinese nation. And it is her desire to promote cultural and economic cooperation with foreign Powers regarding China, while at the same time she will respect fully their rights and interests there. Accordingly, as soon as the Powers understand the true intentions of Japan, and take suitable steps to make the Nanking Government reconsider their attitude and policy, then and only then will a way have been paved for their cooperation with Japan respecting the settlement of the present conflict.

C E R T I F I C A T E

Statement of Source and Authenticity

I, HAYASHI, Kacru, Chief of the Archives Section, Japanese Foreign Office, hereby certify that the document hereto attached in English consisting of 6 pages and entitled: "Statement of the Japanese Government regarding Japan's Non-Participation in the Conference of the Nine Power Treaty Signatories, October 27, 1937." is an exact and true copy of an official document of the Japanese Foreign Office.

Certified at Tokyo,

on this 5th day of April, 1947.

K. Hayashi
Signature of Official

Witness: K. Urabe

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九國條約國會不參加ニ關スル帝國政府ノ聲明

(昭和十二年十月二十七日)

帝國政府ハ九國條約會議ニ關スル本月二十日附白耳國政府ノ邀請ニ回答スルノ機會ニ方リ、詳細從來ノ經過ヲ支シ、弘ク其ノ所信ヲ中外ニ顯明セントス。

一、支那ハ辛亥革命以來幾多政變ノ興亡アリタルモ其一致ナル對外政策ハ排外ニアリ、然ニ中國國民黨カ國民政府ヲ樹立シ中央政權ヲ得ノ手段トシテ大正十三年聯軍共政體ヲ排ツテ以來其ノ排外政策ハ一層尖鋭露骨ト爲リ支那民衆ノ排外思想亦益々熾烈ヲ加フルニ至レリ。之カ爲列國ニシテ既得ノ權益ヲ侵蝕ニ供シタルモノ比々皆然ラザルヤキハ今尙世人ノ記憶ニ新ナル所ニシテ然ニ最近十年支那ハ排外政策ノ目標ヲ主トシテ帝國ニ置ケリ。帝國ハ以ニ東亞諸國ノ親善提携カ東亞安定ノ樞軸ナルヲ確信シ銳意之カ實現ノ爲努力シ來リ、韓中隣邦支那カ民國革命以來次第ニ國家意識ニ目覺メ來レルハ日支ノ依存關係ヲ強

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輒ナラシムル所以ナリトシ帝國ノ脅迫セル所ニシテ、帝國ハ努メテ支
那ノ正當ナル國民的要望ニ副ハントスルノ政令ヲ發シ、或ハ支那ノ自
治自主權回復ニ率先協力シ、或ハ治外法權廢止ニ努ムル支那ノ要望ニ
對シテ好意的態度ヲ表明スル等、只管日支親善ノ増進ニ努カスルト共
ニ支那力之ニ顧慮シ來ランコトヲ待望セリ。然ルニ南京政府ハ帝國ノ
斯ノ如キ同情アル態度ヲ多トセサルノミナラス、却テ益々抗日ノ政策
ヲ厲シ支那ニ於ケル帝國ノ權益ヲ潰滅セシメスンハ已マサラントスル
ノ意ヲ示シ、特ニ最近數年來ハ抗日及抗日ヲ以テ國內ノ統一、南京政
權ノ強化ノ具ニ供シ、軍隊、學校ニ於テハ抗日ヲ以テ精神教育ノ根幹
ト爲シ、純眞ナル幼少年時代ヨリ善隣ヲ仇敵視スルノ思想ヲ注入スル
カ如キ世界ニ其ノ類ヲ見サルノ暴暴ヲ敢テシ、其ノ結果帝國ノ平和ナ
ル通商、經濟上ノ活動ノ妨害ハ固ヨリ我居留民ノ安住ヲモ脅威スルニ
至リ、進テハ組織的恐怖行爲ニ迄發展シ、單ニ茲一兩年ノ例ニ徴スル
モ、昭和十年十一月ノ上海ニ於ケル水兵殺害事件ヨリ汕頭、成都、北

Ref Hoc #1042

海、漢口、上海ニ於ケル帝國官民ノ被害、長沙、汕頭ニ於ケル邦人住宅ノ焼燬等嚴重スヘキ事件ノ續發ヲ見タリ。深ク事蹟ヲ憂ヘタル帝國政府ハ、隱忍以テ幾度カ南京政府ノ反省ヲ促シタルモ其ノ效ナク、折衝難年暮ノ同案事件生シ茲ニ國民黨共產黨ノ妥協成リ、共産分子ハ抗日ノ旗幟ノ下ニ北京黨ニ領袖ヲ授ケリ、其ノ勢ノ過ノトコロ迄ニ本年七月七日盧溝橋ニ於ケル支那軍ノ日本軍不法攻撃事件ヲ惹起スルニ至レリ。

此等事件發生スルヤ帝國政府ハ之ヲ以テ日支間ノ大事ニ立至ラシメサラシコトヲ辨シ、直ニ事象不損大局地解決ノ計ヲ立テ、作戦上多大ノ犠牲ヲ忍ンテ派兵ヲ見合セ、戦役ヲ進スルヲ覺悟ノ上、二十數日ニ亘リ積極的軍事行動ヲ差控ヘ、以テ慎重處理ノ手段ヲ審シタルニ反シ、南京政府ハ却テ梅津何應欽協定ヲ蹂躪シテ南京政府直屬ノ大軍ヲ續々北上セシメ、帝國軍隊ヲ脅威スルト共ニ現地支那軍ヲ煽動スルノ舉ニ出テ、事態ハ遂ニ全面的衝突ニ迄發展スルニ至レリ。軒^ツ排日ヲ國內統一ノ具トスル南京政府ハ、最近兩三年日本ヲ目標トシテ國民ニ對シ盛

Ref. loc #1042

ニ軍事思想ヲ鼓吹スル一方多量ノ武器輸入、要塞ノ修築、軍隊ノ訓練等ニヨリ急速ニ軍備ヲ強化シタル結果支那軍容ハ自負ノ念ニ驅ラレ國民亦自力ヲ過信スルニ至リ、帝國ニ對シテ戰ヲ挑ムノ風潮國內ニ瀰漫シ、既ニ今回ノ事變前支那ノ言論機關ハ日本及日本人ヲ敵國又ハ敵人ト呼ンテ譁ラサリシモノニシテ、一度盧溝橋ニ事起ルヤ、南京政府ハ自ラ屈服シタル國內情勢ニ應ラレ、帝國ノ真意ナル態度及局地解決ノ方針モ遂ニ施スニ由ナカリシ次第ナリ。

事變ハ斯ノ如クシテ擴大セラレ北支ノミナラス中南支各地ニ於ケル帝國臣民ハ愈々生命ノ危險ニ暴サルルニ至リ遂ニ多年來々建設セル生活ノ根據ヲ棄テ各地ヨリ全面的ニ引揚クルノ已ムナキニ至レリ。地方上海ニ於テハ、南京政府ハ從來共昭和七年ノ停戰協定ヲ遵守セス非武装地帶内ニ密ニ堅固ナル陣地ヲ構築スル等善々戰備ヲ整フル所アリ、於茲帝國政府ハ本年六月特ニ協定關係國會議ノ開催ヲ求メ、支那側ノ注意ヲ喚起シタルカ、支那側ハ聊カモ其ノ態度ヲ改メス、北支ニ於ケル

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所突勃發スルヤ公然停戰協定ヲ踐門シテ正規軍ヲ非武装地帯ニ侵入セシメ、遂ニ八月九日帝國海軍將兵ノ慘殺ヲ報復トシテ愈々租界攻取ノ聲浪ヲ揚シ帝國政府カ停戰協定關係トモ連絡シ、隱忍ニ堪忍ヲ冀ネ作廢上大ナル不利ヲ忍ンテ、軍事衝突回避ノ爲最後ノ防固延百万勢力シタルニモ拘ラス支那側ハ突如租界防備ノ帝國軍隊及兵力在租民ニ對シ空想砲撃ヲ加ヘ、寡少ナル陸軍隊ハ固ヨリ不敵ニ爲リ租民殺戮ヲ企圖スルニ至レルヲ以テ事茲ニ至リテハ帝國トシテモ自衛ノ爲反撃スルノ餘儀ナキニ至レル次第ナリ。

以上ニ依リ明ナル通り今次事變ノ根原ハ南京政府ノ徹底前非日政策ニ存シ、事變擴大ノ直接原因ハ南京政府カ韓津何國欽協定ヲ侵犯シテ中央軍ヲ大舉北上セシメ、又上海ニ於テ停戰協定ヲ蹂躪シテ兵ヲ租界ニ進メタルニアリ、此ニ至テ遂ニ帝國ハ已ムナク自衛ノ爲敢起シ、此ノ機會ニ於テ東亞百年ノ平和確立ノ爲南京政府ノ反省ヲ求メツツアル次第ナリ。依テ今次事變解決ノ要諦ハ南京政府ニ於テ顯然其ノ非ヲ改メ

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排日政策ヲ執シ日支提携ノ我カ口實ニ協調スルニアルノミ。

三、爾ニ近年南京政府ヲシテ排日ニ奔走セシムルニ至レル重要ナル原因
ノ一ハ、往年滿洲事變ニ際シ、國際聯盟カ東亞現實ノ事態ヲ監視シテ
採擇セル決斷ニ依リ支那ノ排日政策ヲ諷諭スル結果ヲ招來セルニアリ
然ルニ國際聯盟ハ今又卒然南京政府ノ提議ヲ取上ケ盧溝ノ暴行ニ依據
シ深ク憂鬱ノ原因ヲ究明スル所ナク、九月二十七日ニハ防備最モ重要
ナル南京、廣東ノ軍事施設ハ悉ク無防備都市ノ空襲ナリト斷定シ、帝
國ヲ非難スルノ決斷ヲ爲シ、更ニ十月六日ノ聯盟總會ニ於テ帝國ノ行
動ヲ以テ九國條約並ニ不戰條約違反ナリト斷定セルノミナラス進ンテ
公然支那援助ノ決斷ヲ採擇シタルカ如キハ、列國ノ干涉ヲ導入シテ帝
國ヲ抑ヘントスル南京政府ノ奸策ヲ支援スル結果ト爲リ、支那ノ抗日
決意ヲ愈々鼓舞シ事態ノ収容ヲ益々困難ナラシムルモノニシテ、往年
ノ過誤ヲ再ヒ繰返シツツアルモノト謂ハサルヲ得ス。

抑モ帝國今次ノ行動カ支那側ノ挑發ニ對スル自衛手段ニシテル國條約

Ref No. 4/042

違反ノ問題ヲ發生スルノ餘地ナキハ明ナルノミナラス、近時支那ニ於
ケル赤化勢力ノ浸潤、國內情勢ノ變化等ニ依リ東亞ノ事態ハ九國條約
成立當時トハ著シク異レルモノアリ。然ニ今次招請セラレタル九國條
約會議參加國ノ大多數ハ畢竟前門戸具決議ニ拘束セララルヘキニ依リ
假令特種政府ニ於テ同會議ニ參加スルモ滿洲事變ノ際ニ於ケル結果ノ
會議ト同様到底公正ナル結果ヲ期待シ得ス、況ヤ東亞ニ殆ト利害ノ關
係ヲ有セサル諸國シモ加ヘタル此ノ種ノ會議ハ徒ニ日支兩國ノ民心ヲ
割裂シ、却テ事態ヲ益々紛糾セシメ、時局收拾ニ毫モ益スル所ナカルヲ
ヘキヲ以テ、帝國政府ハ茲ニ參加ヲ拒絶セル次第ナリ。

帝國ハ今ヤ舉國一致萬端ヲ排シテ南京政府ノ反帝ヲ求メ寧ろ連ナル
解決ニ邁進セントス。然レトモ帝國ハ固ヨリ列國トノ協和ヲ顧念セザ
ルモノニ非ス。只日支ノ紛争ハ東亞ノ安定ニ共同ノ責任ヲ負擔スル兩
國間ノ直接交渉ニ依リテノミ之ヲ解決シ得ヘキモノニシテ、要ハ兩國
協和ノ障礙ト爲リ常ニ帝國ノ權益ヲ脅威シツツアル南京政府ノ排日政

Ref Doc # 1042

策ト之ト勾結セル赤化勢力ヲ排除シ、以テ日支提携ニ基ク東亞恒久
ノ平和ヲ確立スルニアリ。從テ帝國ハ支那ノ民衆ヲ敵視シ、其ノ領土
ヲ侵略スルカ如キ意圖ナキノミナラス却テ支那國民ノ物質的精神的向
上ヲ折念スルモノニシテ、外國ノ在支權益ハ飽ク迄之ヲ尊重シツツ列
國ト共ニ支那ニ對スル文化的又經濟的協同ヲ期シ層ル次第ナリ。故ニ
若シ列國ニシテ能ク右帝國ノ真意ヲ理解シ、南京政府ノ反省ヲ促スニ
適切ナル措置ニ出ツルニ於テハ茲ニ初メテ今次事變ノ停決ニ因シ帝國
ト協同ノ途ヲ開クコトヲ望ムヘキナリ。

Reg. No. # 1042

文書ノ出所竝ニ成立ニ關スル證明書

自分・林

誓ハ外務省文書課長ノ職ニ居ルニシテ茲ニ添付セ

ラレタル日本語ニ依ツテ書カレ八頁ニ成ル

九日條約國會不加入ニ關スルト
帝國政府ノ聲明昭和十二年丁
月二十一日

屬スル證明ハ日本政府ハ外務省ニ保管ニ付ル公文書ノ正確ニシテ眞實ナル寫シナルコトヲ證明ス

昭和二十二年四月五日 於東京

林

誓

右署名證明ハ自分ノ面前ニ於テ爲サレタリ

同日 於 同 所

滿 部 勝 馬